1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

561 575 882 the core villagers or to a boys' association, though boys who are no longer able-bodied are considered as *palaks*. Able-bodied widowers are also called *gumis pulangan*, and are looked upon by the *desa* as a sort of reserve, since they can again become core villagers by remarrying if their second wife is a *dĕha*. This is perhaps the reason for the regulation that if possible widowers should continue living in separate compounds, and in fact are required to do so if they have a child. (If they are childless they may move into a compound with another family, the which is called *ngĕdis*, from *kĕdis*, 'bird'.) If a widower marries a widow he remains a *gumi pulangan*.

609 It goes without saying that in a village where strangers are looked at askance, immigrants are subject to any number of restrictions. They are relegated seventeen compounds in the *banjar* of Pande, though they may be permitted to use other compounds by way of favour. They are, of course, expected to provide the village with certain services, such as caring for the village orchestra, and must help with the religious services in their *banjar*.

567 There has never been slavery in Tĕnganan, though indenture for debt does exist. In this connection attention must be called to the blacksmith family from the *desa* of Tunggak (where it still has its place of burial). This smith, who came to Tĕnganan at the request of the *desa*, was given a loan of sixty thousand doits free of interest, to be paid back in instalments, but the loan is constantly renewed on payment of the last instalment. He works gratis for the *desa* whenever that is necessary.

566 Also in perpetual servitude to the *desa* are the so-called *panjaks desa*, including the village cleaners, the *yayas*. These *yayas* have a function in the *bale agung* similar to that exercised in the *desa* by the *kĕbayans tahak*.[11] These *kĕbayans tahak*, now consisting of fourteen families, may not become members of the *desa* association. Two of them do take part in the meeting in the *bale agung* as *yayas*, but they sit at the very lowest end, below the *pĕngluduhans*, the newest *desa* members. It is the task of the *kĕbayans tahak* to keep the village territory clean. If corpses of people or dogs are found and no one admits that they belong to him, they must see

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

184 361 [609] isolation in Tenganan that there is an official specially appointed to sweep the village after the visits of strangers, to obliterate their footprints. Such is the obsession for

[115] We became acquainted with I-Tanggú, a youngish man with fingernails four inches long, who was the *perbekel* of Tenganan, the representative of his village with the Dutch Government. We were surprised to find him quite sociable. Once we played host to him in Den Pasar and from then on we were often invited to visit Tenganan. Unlike the rest of the villages in Bali, there is hardly any vegetation around the Tenganan houses, which are all exactly alike and are arranged in rows on each side of stone-paved avenues. In the central place is the council house where the Elders meet, a long shed about ten feet wide by some seventy feet long, strongly built and apparently very old. Farther along are other buildings for public use, the purpose of some kept a secret. The most curious are the unique mill for grinding *kemiri* [252] [788] nuts to obtain oil, and the wooden Ferris-wheel, usually dismantled, in which the women revolve for hours in a strange rite. The dwelling of I-Tanggú is just like all the others: a small gate 342 reached by a flight of steps leads into a court in which are the sleeping-quarters, the kitchen, and a long house for relatives and [775] for storage. There is also a small empty shrine where the spirits may rest when they visit their descendants.

184 The people of Tenganan are tall, slender, and aristocratic in a [142] rather ghostly, decadent way, with light skins and refined man- [302] ners. The majority of the men still wear their hair long. They are proud and look down even on the Hindu-Balinese nobility, who respect them and leave them alone. They live in a strange 423 communistic or, rather, patriarchal-communalistic system in which individual ownership of property is not recognized and in which even the plans and measurements of the houses are set and alike for everybody. The village of Tenganan owns communally enormous tracts of fertile and well-cultivated lands that fill every need of the village and make it one of the richest in the

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

462 [273] The aristocratic communists of Tenganan go to the plantation only to make tuak, beer from sugar palms.

778 On the way down the hill, I was allowed a glimpse of the sacred temple of Tenganan, of which we had heard mysterious reports. It was a small enclosure under a great banyan tree surrounded by a low wall of uncut stones roughly piled up. Inside were a few mounds of the same stones, reminiscent of altars, and in one of them there was a larger stone with what appeared to be a natural [609] cavity. I could not go into the enclosure because no outsider is ever permitted to enter it. I-Tanggú could not divulge the purpose of such a primitive "temple" and could not even name the deities worshipped there, but he added mysteriously that there were three of them! It seems extraordinary that this pile of stones is the only sacred, "essential" place of worship for the Tenganans, who are expert carvers and fine artists.[8]

184 346 778 Just outside the village I had seen a regular Balinese-style temple with fine roofs and elaborate carvings, but this, I-Tanggú said with contempt, did not mean much to them and was more for the use of their Balinese guests and coolies, perhaps as a concession to the official cult of the island, so that they would not be considered as savages, people without a "proper" temple.

[8] This extraordinary village must not, however, be taken as a typical Bali Aga [184] community. Tenganan was deliberately cut off from the natural development of the rest of Bali and remains today a unique, rabidly conservative, and strictly tribal community that seems to take pride in doing things "differently," even from the rest of the Bali Agas. Institutions that are the very essence of Balinese culture, such as the shadow-plays (*wayang kulit*), are unknown, while others are even forbidden. Many rites and festivals peculiar to Tenganan do not exist elsewhere.

Dr. E. V. Korn has made an exhaustive study of the Tenganan people (*De doorpsrepubliek Tnganan Pagringsingan*), but their religious concepts remain ob- [171] scure, perhaps even to the Tenganans themselves. Like the other Balinese they worship the Gunung Agung and rule their life by the eternal principle of orientation — high and low, right and left. They venerate shapeless stones (*batú menurun*), considered to be the fragments of the famous horse of Outjé Seraya, stones that are the symbols of "origin" of totemic groups that are sharply divided into "right" and "left." The people of Tenganan were influenced by distorted ideas from an early version of pre-Madjapahit Hinduism and have a vague notion of the Hindu Trinity, [177] headed, however, by Indra, generally a minor deity, who is to the Tenganans the same as Siwa-Iswara, the supreme god, "Lord of the Centre," with the *kubu* (home) of "Sanghyang" (Brahma) at the right and that of "Idjeng" (Wisnu) at the left. One of their lonely temples, or, rather, tabooed enclosures, is supposedly the reflection on this earth of the heavenly lake of Indra.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

CHAPTER V

EVERYDAY LIFE IN BALI

THE HOUSE

342 As an organic unit, the structure, significance, and function of the home is dictated by the same fundamental principles of belief that rule the village: blood-relation through the worship of the ancestors; rank, indicated by higher and lower levels; and orientation by the cardinal directions, the mountain and the sea, right and left. The Balinese say that a house, like a human being, has a head — the family shrine; arms — the sleeping-quarters and the social parlour; a navel — the courtyard; sexual organs — the gate; legs and feet — the kitchen and the granary; and anus — the pit in the backyard where the refuse is disposed of.

342 777 Magic rules control not only the structure but also the building and occupation of the house; only on an auspicious day specified in the religious calendar can they begin to build or occupy a house. On our arrival we were able to secure a new pavilion in the household of Gusti only because the date for occupation set by the priest was still three months off. We were strangers immune from the laws of magic harmony that affect only the Balinese and we could live in the house until the propitious day when the priest would come to perform the *melaspasin*, the ceremony of inauguration, saying his prayers over each part of the house, burying little offerings at strategic points to protect the inmates from evil influences.

● [609]

[p. 88]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

The artist is in Bali essentially a craftsman and at the same time an amateur, casual and anonymous, who uses his talent knowing that no one will care to record his name for posterity. His only aim is to serve his community, seeing that the work is well done when he is called to embellish the temple of the village, or when he carves his neighbour's gate in exchange for a new roof or some other similar service. Actors and musicians play for the feasts of the village without pay, and when they perform for private festivals they are lavishly entertained and banqueted instead. Foreigners have to pay a good amount for a performance: from five to thirty guilders according to the quality of the show and the pretensions of the actors; but a Balinese who calls the village's orchestra or a troupe of actors for a home festival provides special food, refreshments, *sirih*, and cigarettes for them. If he pays a small amount besides, from a guilder to five, it is not considered as remuneration, but rather as a present to help the finances of the musical or theatrical club. Whatever money they receive goes to the funds of the association to cover the expenses of the feasts given by the club or to buy new costumes or instruments.

Nothing in Bali is made for posterity; the only available stone is a soft sandstone that crumbles away after a few years, and the temples and reliefs have to be renewed constantly; white ants devour the wooden sculptures, and the humidity rots away all paper and cloth, so their arts have never suffered from fossilization. The Balinese are extremely proud of their traditions, but they are also progressive and unconservative, and when a foreign idea strikes their fancy, they adopt it with great enthusiasm as their own. All sorts of influences from the outside, Indian, Chinese, Javanese, have left their mark on Balinese art, but they are always translated into their own manner and they become strongly Balinese in the process.

Thus the lively Balinese art is in constant flux. What becomes the rage for a while may be suddenly abandoned and forgotten when a new fashion is invented, new styles in music or in the

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

or as balls of fire and living shadowlike white cloths, but also in the shapes of weird animals: pigs, dogs, monkeys, or tigers. Witches often assume the form of beautiful mute girls who make obscene advances to young men on lonely roads at night. *Leyaks* are, however, progressive and now they are said to prefer more modern shapes for their transformations; motor-cars and bicycles that run in and out of temples without drivers and whose tires pulsate as if breathing. There are even *leyak* airplanes sweeping over the roof-tops after midnight. Children cry during the night because they see *leyaks* that become invisible on approaching to gnaw at their entrails. Then the child becomes sick and soon dies; that explains the high death-rate among children.

The ever unwilling patients of the modern hospital in Den Pasar claim to have seen strange shadows under doors and flocks of monkeys that grimace at them through the windows; the congregation of sick, magically weakened people naturally attracts legions of *leyaks* and for this reason they fear having to go to the hospital. Witches congregate under the *kepuh* trees always found in cemeteries, but they are also attracted to the "male" papaya tree (that which bears no fruit) and like to carry on their orgies of blood and their love affairs under its shadow; consequently these trees are never permitted to grow within the village limits.

I was told that to see the *leyaks* that happen to be about, one must stand naked and, bending over suddenly, look between one's legs. They can be recognized by the flames (*endéh*) that issue out of their hanging tongues and from the top of their heads. This does not work with foreigners, because the *leyaks* "are shy and do not show themselves to outsiders"; thus, even the Balinese who fear *leyaks* so that they dare not mention the word *leyak* are not in the least impressed with the bravery of a skeptical stranger who walks alone at night into a cemetery or some such *leyak*-ridden place.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

are also wicked ones who use magic to do physical harm to a client's enemy. For this purpose they are said to employ the universal system of sympathetic magic by which through the possession of something that belonged to or formed part of the victim – clothes, locks of hair, nail-cuttings, saliva, and even the soil taken from a footprint – they can gain control of the physical and mental condition of the person. Through sympathy between the victim and something of his – his image, a photograph or a doll containing any of the above ingredients – his soul is captured and tortured because he feels the harm done to his image. Consequently the Balinese carefully collect and bury all nail-cuttings, hair, tooth-filings, and so forth.

Just as the Balinese believe that foreigners are immune from the attacks of witches simply because they are of a race apart, so they believe that European medicines and the knowledge of white doctors, pills, liquids in bottles, and bitter or smelly powders, can be effective only to cure the people who invented them. Furthermore, the lack of showmanship of doctors, of dramatic hocus-pocus with which to paralyse the evil forces which they believe cause illness, leave them without faith in their curative ability. Many refuse absolutely to be cured by Europeans, others accept treatment out of politeness, and the few that go to the hospitals do so only after everything else has failed them. It is natural that medical treatment fails then to cure an advanced stage of illness.

In case of serious sickness a folded leaf of pandanus is hung on the gate as a sign of taboo (*sawén*) to inform the village. Then only relatives may enter the house and may only approach the sick person after stamping their feet on the kitchen floor to shake off whatever evil influences may still cling to them. A *balian* is called, and if his magic succeeds in effecting a cure, the patient gives many offerings and has to undergo purifying ceremonies to lose the *sebel*.

The Balinese attach great significance to any sort of physical sickness and, having no great hardships to discuss, to complain

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

The newly discovered "last paradise" became the contemporary substitute for the nineteenth-century romantic conception of primitive Utopia, until then the exclusive monopoly of Tahiti and other South Sea Islands. And lately travel agencies have used the alluring name of Bali to attract hordes of tourists for their round-the-world cruises that make a one-day stop on the island. On this day the tourists are herded to the hotel in Den Pasar to eat their lunch, buy curios, and watch hurried performances by bored "temple dancers" — ordinary village actors who hate to play in the midday heat. The show over, the tourists are rushed back to their ships in numbered cars, satisfied to have seen Bali. An average of five or six such cruises unload every winter some fifteen hundred round-the-world tourists that leave the Balinese puzzled as to why all these madmen come from so far for only a day. They would never willingly leave their island, and once an old woman remarked that surely the foreigners must have done something at home that forced them to leave their own lands.

The great cruise ships come with twice as many visitors as can be taken care of by the island's limited supply of motor-cars, and half the tourists have to remain on board ship until the others return. On one occasion it was planned to send a troupe of dancers and musicians to entertain those who had to remain on board, but the ship's officers objected; "they could not allow natives to overrun the ship; something might be stolen." They were persuaded that the Balinese were an honest people and they let them come to play and dance for the tourists, but when the show was over and the Balinese started packing to leave, one of their large bronze gongs in a carved wood frame was missing! The gong was never found.

Besides the cruises, every week two K.P.M. boats bring a handful of more enterprising visitors that stay for three days or even for a week or two. They land in the northern port of Buleleng, which has been under direct Dutch control for nearly a

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OBl Indonesia
Javanese OE5 Bali OF7
Lombok OF12

"old style" and "new style" desa. In the old-style desa a special group of married citizens is obliged and privileged to carry out the functions of worship. The membership of such groups numbers twenty or multiples of twenty. The members are holders of certain particular agricultural lands. At least, they must be landed proprietors and married. Succession to the group is based on a variety of principles. The oldest villagers have special administrative functions and a place to fulfil in the worship of the gods. Even the peacemakers in village disputes are in essence religious administrators, for they protect the village territory from defilement brought on by quarrels.

The social strata make up the Balinese village. The nuclear group of first-settlers holds the first rank. A larger group of subordinate middle-class people shares, to some extent, in the land and has limited responsibilities. Lodgers and immigrants form the third class, known as "sampingan."

In the villages situated outside of the former principalities, there are various societies, which are subordinate to the village authority. Such are the "banjar," the district society, the young men's and young women's societies, the music and drama society, and so forth. In the appanage territory these freely-formed societies exist as autonomous communities outside of village authority.

Citizenship in the new-style villages is less complex. Every adult, married male, who has a residential compound and has lived in the village for a year, is admitted to the village society. He is, in fact, obliged to join up. Administration by a village headman (kilan), sometimes assisted by some henchmen, replaces the gerontocracy of the old-style system.

Alongside of the two basic types of Balinese communities are the important irrigation associations (subak), a union of sawah[24] owners under a headman, but organized in various ways, and variously aligned with the villages.

In Lombok, the desa is a territorially-based community made up of unrelated families. It possesses an area of disposal and is governed by a "kepala desa."

11. *The Javanese desa.*—The Javanese desa is another type of community, whose base is purely territorial. Its constituency is formed of unrelated individuals and families. And in addition to the nuclear desa citizenry, there are alien, non-native residents, mainly

[24] [Cultivated fields held under a community right of disposal. See the next chapter.]

access to communal lands by outsiders. Out-groupers may exploit such lands only after they have paid in advance a fee for the use of the lands, and continued to pay rent afterwards. In principle, they obtain usufruct for just one season. They may never buy, sell or inherit such fields. Nor may they receive such fields as security. And finally, under native law they may be forbidden even to enter upon the communal lands, or perhaps be subject to other disabilities, although this last power is today of doubtful constitutionality.

Outsiders must apply to the village chiefs for permission to use village land. To pave the way for a favorable response to such request, a little gift to the chiefs is good Indonesian custom. In certain law-areas it is customary to give a tangible token to the community at the beginning of the enterprise, so as to display the outsider's consciousness of the advantage he is about to realize on someone else's land. In Angkola, for example, when a group of people, who do not belong to the ruling village wish to get permission to set up a new hamlet in the area of disposal belonging to a regional community, their headman must bring in six water buffaloes. These are then turned to the profit of the whole regional community. And on Bali the population of the immigrant village of Kastala is nothing other than share-croppers on the fields of the people of Tnganan, the owners of the land. Generally, however, the practice is merely to give occasional token payments in addition to the initial compensation. This, too, is largely to symbolize the admission of advantage derived from someone else's property, because the payment may be very small, indeed. In Minangkabau the legal maxim "lembaga dituang, adat diisi" is sometimes explained as meaning that strangers owe acknowledgment and retribution to the community. Whatever earnings are brought in from this source go to both the chiefs and the people.

As against the rights of outsiders the community believes that its ultimate title is never impaired. Aliens cannot permanently settle on the land. Their relation to it must remain loose: the "orang menumpang" as contrasted to the "orang asal" among the Rejang. Only when outsiders have lived in the community for generations do they acquire a more clearly fixed title to their fields. And even then their rights readily give way to the rights of the community in any crisis. In addition, the descendants of the original village in a regional community, or the descendants of the founding lineages in a village, sometimes constitute a central group,

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OBI Indonesia DBI
• Bali OF7 Redjang-Lampong OD12
Minangkabau OD10
Java OE1

described by being split into two parts in the manner just indicated. Sometimes the document may directly declare: "I, the undersigned, declare that I am pledging ————."

The document is signed by the person who is transferring the land. "Signed" may mean an actual signature scrawled under the record in one script or another by the transferer, or it can be a cross, which he [illegible] after his name, written by someone else, or an imprint of [illegible]mb-tip in red ink. The headman of the community in wh[illegible]and is situated, and any other village officials who happen [illegible]sent, and sometimes members of the transferer's lineag[illegible]so owners of adjacent lands, and possibly, persons present as witnesses affix their signatures and marks. In other words, any one who is there.

The document is then delivered to the recipient of the land, be he purchaser, pledgee, rentor or beneficiary of a gift. Armed with this document, he can prove to everyone the legitimacy of his new personal relation to the plot. It is especially useful to show to outsiders, and more particularly, later on, to a professional judge. He is thus able to prove that his title to the land has a claim to legal protection, because he took pains to see that the legal act which established his title was "terang"—"took place in the light of day." The document is therefore written evidence (surat katerangan).

Undoubtedly the document in its operation between the two parties also has its functional place in the participant thinking of the population. But what that place is has still to be worked out. Conjectures that the document serves as a visible token in the sense of a binder, or as a means to transfer the relationship to the land in a materialized form, as it were, are rather Western conceptions that seem to lack essential contact with the content and context of the act itself. If the document may be compared to an original native institution, it may be said to be a reminder or recognition token (therefore evidence) like tree notches among the Rejang and the stone markers of Minangkabau.

The function of the signing of the document by the chief is easier to understand in native thought. He tangibly obligates himself henceforth to recognize the new relationship as a legal relationship.

I. LAND TRANSACTIONS WITH OUTSIDERS

The founding of villages at the command of princes, as a means of establishing a new sphere of authority, or as a favor obtained from the prince, is well enough known, especially, in Java and Bali.

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Java OE1
Bali OF1

Such villages commonly have a special legal status (see page 73). Reclamation of arable fields outside the established boundaries of pre-existing communities is subject solely to the provisions of the princely legal systems, or that of the Dutch administration (page 104).

In areas where the local autonomous communities do not exist (where individual rights to land are directly dominated by the legal system of the prince or the Government) any two-party land transactions are subject to possible regulations by legislation. But any such regulations must be in actual harmony with the adat law described above. Most of the persons who are operating in the area of no-man's land maintain their link to the community from which they hail. They return to their community; they have their family ties and interests there. This is the fact that administrative regulation should not overlook.

To the extent that no formal regulations have been promulgated in a given extra-community area, we can assert in confidence that the going practices of land customs and usages coincide with those of the community from which the tillers come, so that the decisions of the prince's judges and Dutch judges ought to produce rules for the area that are similar to those which are already valid in the native sphere.

However, the universal question arises: "What replaces the role of the chiefs in land dealings outside of the community domain?" Registration at the office of an administrator in the Princedoms, or with the princely officials in Bali, are excellent examples of a good substitute for that missing feature. Unfortunately, there is no such provision in directly governed territories, or in the large towns where the village chiefs have disappeared, or for the groups living outside the regular native communities (the priyayi).

The surrender of native rights to land to the Government in order to convert arable lands into the "free national domain" suitable for reissuance to non-natives is a unilateral act, which is a part of the legal system of the Government and outside of the adat. This subdivision of "agrarian law" is in urgent need of revision.

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Minangkabau OD10 Redjang-Lampung OD12
Gorontolo OG4 Java OE1
Gayo-Alas OD7 Bali OF7
Celebes OG1

in the frontier region between the Minangkabau and Mandailing. It does not occur at all in Angkola.

The second form of adoption is the "nyentanayang" of Bali. This is adoption from within the great traditional clan of relatives (purusa). However, in recent times adoption from outside this group is growing in frequency. In some villages members of the wife's family may be adopted. If the head wife has no children, but a secondary wife does, then her children are made children of the first wife by adoption. If there are no male relatives available for adoption, a girl may be chosen. The legal act of adoption requires first that a thread be burned in two, so as to separate the child from its own family. The second step is the adat payment of one thousand kepeng to its mother. The man who is doing the adopting acts in concordance with his family group; it is announced in the desa; and permission must be obtained from the officials of the prince, who draw up a legal document. The child itself gets presents. Here again, the child is fully cut off from its former parents, even in inheritance, and is a full member of its new family group.

The motive for this form of adoption is also the fear of dying childless and so suffering the extinction of the line of descent. A widow may also adopt a child for her deceased husband.

As a third variety, there is the adoption of nephews and nieces, which occurs in Celebes, Java, and other places. Among the Gayo, the Pasemah and the Pepadon groups, in the Lampongs, it takes place alongside of the adoption of non-relatives. However, it is distinguished from this last form by name and in the omission of payments for the children.

The adoption of nephews is, in a broad sense, to be compared with the transfer of family land by partition, as a shift within the family group as such. Usually, there is no question of payments. Nevertheless, a practice in East Java, which gave adoption the character of a cash transaction, still seems to exist in the payment of a magical token of "rong wang sagobang" (seventeen and one-half cents) to the real parents, as a means of breaking their magic tie to the child. Among the Minahasans a tangible token, called "parade" (not lilikur, it seems) is given to the child in confirmation of the adoption.[5] The predominant purpose is, as usual, to get a descendant to carry on a person's line. But this is

[5] Concerning the old age care contract, which the Minahasans call "adoption," the reader should refer back to p. 138. [cat. 116 -- Analyst]

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Redjang-Lampong OD12
Bali OF7
Sumba OF17

Matriarchal marriage is also associated with gift exchanges. But in this situation the woman is not a part of the exchange of valuables. She is not released from her group by the receipt of the gifts. Thus the exchange of gifts is of secondary importance in matrilineally organized societies.

a. *Bride-price.*—As a technical concept of adat law, bride-price involves payments from the man's family to the girl's with the object of incorporating her into the husband's sub-clan, and her children, too. Presents, or any other marriage gifts, which have a different effect must be called something other than bride-price. Bride-price, in a patriarchal system, is therefore a cash transaction. (See p. 105.)

Adoptive marriage is a contrasting form that takes place within the patrilineal framework. Its purpose is to adopt a son-in-law into the clan of his wife, so that the wife's father gets a "son" and his daughter's children belong to his clan, so to continue his line, and not the erstwhile clan of the son-in-law. (See p. 156.) In scattered instances we have reports of the release of the husband by his clan to his wife's in a manner similar to that which occurs in a transfer based on bride-price: a bridegroom price. These examples come from Bali and Sumba. Sometimes there is a formal adoption of the groom into the bride's patrilineal clan. (See p. 161.) However, the general practice is to admit the husband into the bride's patrilineal clan without calling for any payments. Nor does it matter, if the husband is an alien, or not.

On page 156, we explained how the regular occurrence of bride-price with adoptive marriage results in the development of an alternating unilateral kinship system, while adoptive marriage, as a regular form, produces a matrilineal system. This is not to maintain, however, that matrilineal systems always originate in this way. But it would seem to be the case in Saparua and among the matrilineal Semindoëans of Palembang, who are descended from the patrilineal Pasemahans.

There is but little difference between marriages based on cash bride-price and marriage with postponed payment, coupled with suitor service. In this type of marriage, man and wife cohabit, and the husband works for his wife's family until the bride-price is satisfied.

Also similar are exchange marriage, in which dowry and bride-price cancel each other.

And finally, a marriage in which a man takes the widow of his

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Redjang-Lampong OD12 Minangkabau OD10
Sumba OF17
Bali OF7

I MR

f. *Matrilineal marriage.*—A marriage in a matrilineal system is not coupled with such payments as bride-price or marriage portion. The husband remains in his own kin group. But as an individual allied by marriage (urang sumando in Minangkabau) he is admitted to association with his wife's family. At the conclusion of the marriage, he is fetched from his home, where a brief ritual of release takes place, and he is forthwith brought "home," i.e., to the household of his wife.

583 591 585 I BR SM

g. *Adoptive marriage.*—Adoptive marriage has already been mentioned a number of times (pp. 58, 156, 159, 169). In such marriages,[7] the biological relation of child to mother attains a social meaning such as is generally associated structurally with the relationship to the father. Among some peoples the spouse is frequently chosen from a lower class or an alien group, but in general the choice is taken from within the same tribe and class. Rarely, we find reports about a payment, which releases the man from his kin group, as the payment of a thousand doits or a pillow and rice (as in Bali) or the payment for a man who is transferred from his "kabisu" (clan) to that of his wife in Sumba.

583 597 609 565 614 851 I R

Among the Pepadon groups in the Lampongs, an adat dignitary (penjimbang), whose head wife (bini ratu) has produced only daughters, can maintain his position for his own family line by having his daughters undertake an adoptive marriage. This may take several forms. First, the chief's nephew marries his daughter and becomes a son-in-law; as such he gets the chief's position and inheritance and passes them on to his son. Second, an outsider may be adopted into the chief's family, marry the girl, and carry out these functions as a son-in-law. Third, the husband may transfer into his wife's family, but he gets his father-in-law's status and inheritance only in the sense that he administers it for his wife and son. Fourthly, the husband does not transfer into the wife's family, except insofar as he is admitted as the procreator of offspring. In only one group [among the Pepadons], the Sewo Mego, is the marriage of cousins blocked by exogamy.

583 597 622 609 428 I R [582]

In the case of the lower classes, where inheritance is the sole concern, similar possibilities exist, but under different names.

BR

In Bali, too, when a man has daughters, but no sons, there are the two basic arrangements: adoption of the son-in-law as the bearer

583 597

[7] This type of marriage is called "anggap" (Gayo), "semendo ambil," "anaq," "nangkon," "tjambur sumbai," *etc.* (South Sumatra), "kawin ambil piara" (Ambon), and "nyeburin" (Bali).